

the term limits resolution. Most of us who support term limits want to have that vote at a time when we have the best opportunity to win it. And the reason that we sent a letter to the majority leader asking him to hold the vote until sometime in the future when we thought we had that support or might have that support was precisely because we wanted to have the vote scheduled when we thought we could win it.

There will be more time for the supporters to mobilize support in the interim period of time. And I just wanted to express my appreciation to the majority leader for acceding to the wishes of the majority of those of us who would prefer to have the vote later.

I also want to say however there has not been any greater advocate from term limits than the Senator from Missouri, Senator ASHCROFT, and that if he wishes to have a vote on the sense-of-the-Senate resolution, I naturally would support that. But I just wanted to make it very clear that the only reason that the majority leader would defer the vote on the term-limits proposal itself is because those of us who support it have requested that he do so. I appreciate the willingness of the majority leader to accommodate us in that regard.

I appreciate, Mr. President, the opportunity to speak here for this moment. I would suggest the absence of a quorum.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Will the Senator from Arizona withhold?

Mr. KYL. Yes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the Senator from West Virginia.

#### FORGETTING THE DISABLED

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Mr. President, I have just been made aware of something which I think is unprecedented as far as I can remember, in which case and in any event is very shocking. I want my colleagues to be aware of it, that an attempt is now in the process, or may have already been made and accomplished by the Republican leadership, to drop language from an amendment that was passed overwhelmingly in the Senate Finance Committee in its formal and official public markup. I am not sure if this is a violation of Senate rules or of Senate Finance Committee rules but it is a violation of any kind of reasonable practice.

Let me say this again because it is just to me an unbelievable situation. I said that correctly. As I speak, Republican leadership staff is telling reporters—is telling reporters—that language that was voted on, voted on and passed by the vote of 17 to 3, a recorded vote, is going to be dropped.

Now, there is no doubt about what happened. For one, I was among the committee that was there. Second, I am a coauthor of the amendment that

was involved. And there is also a transcript of the proceedings of the Senate Finance Committee markup. And there was a rollcall vote. Seventeen Republicans and Democrats voted for the Chafee-Rockefeller amendment in committee.

Now, this amendment stemmed out of the whole question of what are we going to do with pregnant women, and children and the disabled with respect to turning over all of Medicaid to the States. And there were those of us who felt that pregnant women and children and the disabled ought to be—that guarantee ought to continue because that is so fundamental in American life. So poor children, pregnant women and the disabled, that is what the members of the Finance Committee voted for.

Now, again, some say that this is going to be dropped. No new debate. No new hearing. No new vote. Unprecedented. Just a closed door. A dealing with a closed door. And the disabled get dropped.

Now, I do not know where I am. Is this the U.S. Senate or is this the twilight zone? We are looking through a looking glass of some sort. When votes do not count and history is not history and what was done was not actually done, this is more than a wonderland, it is positively Orwellian.

I do not know whether I participated, therefore, in some kind of a show markup. Was this just a game we were playing? It was a formal session, called to session by Chairman ROTH. It lasted for 3 days. This occurred, I believe, on the last day. But you go to a show markup and then the real results are done later.

Now, there were some deals that were cut behind doors over on the House side the other day, yesterday, which we were informed about last night, some of us, which were pretty shocking. But this is the Senate. And the committee process, which I respect, which I am a part of, is made a sham. And forget the rules, forget the procedures, forget the record.

Now, I am just going to go to two things and I will be finished on it. This was an amendment offered by Senator CHAFEE and myself.

Let me just read the purpose. "To guarantee health care coverage"—this is what was handed out to each Senate Finance Committee member before the discussion of the vote—"To guarantee health care coverage to low-income pregnant women and children"—that happens to be children through the age of 12—"and to individuals with disabilities," verbal emphasis I add.

The words are already there in the description. "At the appropriate place, insert language," et cetera, "coverage for pregnant women and children aged 12 and under, living in families below 100 percent of the Federal poverty level and to individuals with disabilities," verbal emphasis I supply.

The record itself in this discussion, one Senator is saying, "What it would

do would be to guarantee health care coverage to low-income pregnant women and children and individuals with disabilities," in explaining the amendment before the Finance Committee members before the vote.

And then shortly thereafter, the same Senator says, "That language be inserted which guarantees coverage"—this is in the debate now—"to pregnant women and children, age 12 and under, living in families below 100 percent of the poverty level and individuals with disabilities."

Very clear to members of the Finance Committee.

Then on the next page, the same Senator indicating, "So we make a little improvement over the current thing, plus individuals with disabilities."

Then later on in the debate, and there was some debate over this, the same Senator: "And I also would point out to everyone here that we are dealing with the disabled as well."

This was the statement that was made immediately prior to the vote. "We are dealing with the low-income pregnant women and children and the disabled, as I mentioned before. So I would like to have a vote," the Senator said.

Another Senator said, "Mr. Chairman, all time has expired on both sides."

The chairman said, "We are trying to proceed. I congratulate the distinguished Senator," et cetera, et cetera, the clerk will call the roll.

The clerk: "Mr. DOLE."

The chairman: "Aye by proxy," and he was represented.

"Mr. Packwood."

No by proxy.

"Mr. CHAFEE."

Aye by proxy.

"Mr. GRASSLEY," and so on it went.

So here we have the amendment, here we have the committee transcript of the hearing itself and now, if the disabled are dropped after they were included in the amendment, voted for in the amendment and the amendment was approved by 17 of the 20 members of the Finance Committee, then how can anybody ever trust anything that goes on in this body? How can anybody trust anything that goes on in the Finance Committee? How can anybody trust anything that goes on as between the two parties within this Chamber?

It is an outrageous situation, Mr. President. It is one which is grossly unfair. It is manipulative of due process, of proper voting and, in fact, of consensus on the Finance Committee.

There are a lot of disabled folks out there. For them to get dropped in some kind of a back-room deal before this bill comes to the Senate, I want to put my colleagues on notice, it is going to be a very interesting discussion.

I thank the Chair, and I yield the floor.

Mr. DODD. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### CUBAN LIBERTY AND DEMOCRATIC SOLIDARITY [LIBERTAD] ACT OF 1995

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill.

##### UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENTS

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a cloture vote occur tonight at 8:30 p.m. and that the mandatory quorum under rule XXII be waived.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I further ask unanimous consent that the second cloture vote, if necessary, occur on Tuesday, October 17, 1995, at a time to be determined by the two leaders, and that the mandatory quorum under rule XXII be waived.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. ASHCROFT. Reserving the right to object, and I will not object. I would just like to say I had hoped to get a vote on my amendment, which is the pending business on the Cuba resolution, and I will do whatever I can, wherever I can, to get that amendment an opportunity for a vote, but I do not want to stand in the way of this important resolution. So I will not object at this time to this unanimous-consent request, but will be seeking to get a vote on it in the event that the cloture vote fails, or, in the event that the cloture vote succeeds, I will amend the next business or near next business of the Senate in order to get that vote. I do not object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there any other objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I have listened to some of the debate on the Cuba resolution and, in a way, I almost think I am watching the U.S. Senate scripted by Monty Python. You would think that we have these two huge megacountries at war with each other, trying to see which one can get some kind of an advantage over the other. But the situation as it is involves the most powerful nation in history and an impoverished little island. I do not hold any brief for Mr. Castro and his brand of communism, nor do I hold any brief for the mistakes he has made in

his country that have caused suffering among his own people.

But when you hear in this debate suggestions that somehow United States security is at risk if we do not continue to punish Mr. Castro and the people of Cuba, that is ridiculous, Mr. President. It is a bit like the argument we heard about a decade ago that if the Soviet Union were able to have their supporters in Nicaragua, the next thing you know, they would be marching on Galveston, TX. It ignores the reality of the situation and ignores the fact that if they were foolish enough to do that, they would not get very far. The Texas National Guard is stronger than any Central American military force.

Here we have a situation where some are saying we should not even give Fidel Castro a visa to go to the United Nations, as if the United States would turn its back on its own treaty and legal obligations in that regard. Maybe at some point we should acknowledge the reality. The reality is that you have an aging Communist leader, whom time and history and economic realities have left behind, who must realize that himself, and who will not live forever—as none of us do—but a man who poses no threat to the United States ideologically, militarily, economically, or in any other way. But you have an awful lot of people on that little island who do not have medical needs met, nutritional needs met, and so many of their economic needs certainly are not met.

We have the rest of the world looking at the United States and saying, “What are they afraid of?” Our neighbor to the north, Canada, a country with whom we share the longest unguarded frontier in the world, has regular relations with Cuba. I can drive an hour from my home in Vermont to the airport in Montreal and get on a plane to Cuba. They are not threatened by it. But here, in the most powerful nation on Earth, I cannot do that. I would have to have all kinds of special exemptions made and State Department authorization, and on and on and on. You know, at some point, somebody is going to say that we are afraid of our own shadow. I do not think we are. We are too good and too powerful a nation for that.

Let us pay attention to the real foreign policy concerns of our country. Let us ask ourselves, should we not be spending far more time in reasserting the leadership we have not given NATO over the past 3, 4, or 5 years? Let us ask whether we should be doing more to support the emerging democracies of the world. Let us ask what we are doing to expand our markets abroad like the Japanese, Europeans, and others do, at a time when we have huge balance-of-payment deficits, which started about 8 years ago. Let us not continue this absurd obsession with the aging leader of a tiny little island that poses no threat to the United States.

It demeans what we stand for, and it impedes the development of closer rela-

tions between our two countries. It is by strengthening those ties, by enabling Americans to travel freely to Cuba and Cubans to come here, that we will eventually see democracy in Cuba, not by continuing to isolate Cuba as if the Cold War had never ended and the Soviet Union were still trying to put its missiles there. The times have changed, and it is time we changed with the times.

#### BIPARTISAN BUDGET SUMMIT NEEDED NOW

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, this morning's headline reports that budget negotiations between the President and the Republican congressional leaders have broken down. Instead of working together, the leaders are slinging partisan arrows of blame at each other in today's papers. I think, because of that, it is all the more reason to have a bipartisan summit on the budget.

In fact, this is the third time in the last 2 months and the fourth time this year that I have called for a summit meeting between congressional leaders and the President to resolve their budget differences.

In my earlier speeches, my main concern has been to avoid the costly and unnecessary Government shutdown that some have predicted in the beginning of the fiscal year last week. Fortunately, the President and the Congress have avoided this disaster. We agreed to a continuing resolution that funds the Government for the next 6 weeks. I applaud the bipartisan cooperation displayed to reach this continuing resolution.

But I fear that the President and the Republican congressional leadership are now playing a more serious game of chicken—a high-stakes game over raising the debt limit.

The Government is fast approaching the \$4.9 trillion ceiling of Federal borrowing imposed by Congress in 1993. For the Government to keep paying its bills, Congress has to increase the debt limit. I think the deadline is about a month away on November 15, when the Government needs to borrow to meet \$25 billion in interest payments, payments due thousands of individuals, businesses, financial institutions, and pension funds that own Treasury securities.

The Republican leaders are now threatening to use the debt limit as a club to beat the President into submission over the budget. Already, 165 Republican Members of the House of Representatives have pledged to refuse to vote for raising the debt limit, unless the President agrees to what they say should be the budget. In 21 years here, I have not seen an action so irresponsible by either Democrats or Republicans. The Speaker of the House, NEWT GINGRICH, is not helping by going along with the ultimatum and saying, “I am with them. I do not intend to schedule the debt limit if they are not met.” It sounds almost like a child in a sandbox